

Mo /17 cont'd/

581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

Mo 614
581 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutually exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

008 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)

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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own. . . . Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself). . . . another solution was for the clans to conclude

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585 The master of ceremonies moves toward the girl's maternal
604 uncle, makes three bows in the Chinese manner, and invites him to
take his place beside her. The uncle comes forward, stands beside
the girl. The assemblage rises and stares silently at the scene

The master of ceremonies presents a cup of wine to the ma-
ternal uncle and invites him to empty it. He reiterates the gesture
three times. After this he offers to the seated girl two cups, which
she grasps in each hand; he puts in them a red lozenge and pours
wine in them. She holds the full cups in front of her at the level of
her mouth. At this moment the master of ceremonies makes this
speech to her:

"Your maternal uncle, the master of your bones, is at your
side; the whole family is present here; your departure is set for to-
morrow. From the time of our ancestors, at the dividing up of the
family property, one whole part used to revert to the son, and to the
daughter half of this amount. Present times no longer permit such a
division; there comes to you no more than several pieces of clothing";
then, he names one by one the gifts which the family gives her and
shows them to those present, without forgetting to state the color,
the quality of the fabric.... He likewise enumerates the gifts prepared
for the son-in-law and his family. Addressing himself again to the
girl, he says, "Your parents have certainly done all that they could
for you; and they would have done more, but their means did not
permit it. Be glad, be very grateful to your parents, do not forget
them, see, your maternal uncle and the whole family will always be
'at your back.'" Then the girl weeps bitterly, and according to
custom she must manifest the greatest sorrow.

The whole assemblage is under the spell of the moment, a tear
forms in many eyes. Two women come /50/ to get the girl and take
her back....

585 This ceremony gives one something to think about, all the more
614 because it is not explainable in a patriarchal organization where the
604 daughter is the true property of her father, her grandfather, or rather
the paternal clan. What is this maternal uncle with all his clan doing,
he who will always be the protector of the girl, who will always be
"at her back?" This duty is really incumbent on the paternal clan.

/50 cont'd/

M
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very
background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is
giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her?
Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered
to the girl by the maternal uncles and uncles and not those to be given
by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more im-
portance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?

M
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite
of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its
members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-ien.

M
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes
the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still in-
herited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it
was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one
which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

M
[262] After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play more noisily; they
sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M
585 /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
583 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can
take them out without difficulty. (1)

- HM
585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308:
(Mongols) As soon as the livestock has
been delivered to the future wife's father
(the German translation of the same work
says that he himself comes to the future
husband's home to get them), he gives a
feast which is soon reciprocated by the
husband-to-be for the relatives and

/77 cont'd/

585 animals with neighbors or elsewhere; it allows only a few old nags
231 to be seen, which it does not even intend to give up.
431

[571 It is at this moment that the little peculiarities of the race be-
578] come apparent in all their crudeness. We have been able to notice
in all the phases of T'ou-jen marriage this mania for mutual exploi-
tation. /78/ At this hour one sees the two clans together, equally
avid, and each of the two, under the pressure of the moment, feels
itself united and strong. The voice of blood makes itself heard
quickly, brutal, demanding. It is no longer a question of civilities
and ceremonies, and it is not at all rare that the festivity degenerates
into quarrels and scuffles.

585 In this moment one sees that marriage among the T'ou-jen is
614 not a disinterested affair but an affair of the clan, of the community,
among whom the general good takes precedence over everything.

After such eventualities of a T'ou-jen wedding, it is natural
enough when one meets those who are coming from a wedding to ask
them whether all went well, or whether there wasn't some trouble!

Now one understands the importance attached to the role of
master of ceremonies. It is he who must prevent these difficulties,
who must judge when it is necessary to yield and how far the con-
cession can go. He must have the required tact and the appropriate
word which all will be pleased to hear. He will be listened to all
the more if he is highly esteemed by both sides.

585 In two circumstances this cry of the blood among the T'ou-jen
578 is brutal and terrible: at the end of the ceremonies of a marriage,
571 and on the occasion of the negotiations after the suicide of a daughter-
in-law.

The Pei family was giving a daughter in marriage to the Li
family. The Pei grandfather, known for his extraordinary cupidity,
had enjoined his master of ceremonies to demand the finest horse in
the Li family's stable, a horse highly reputed in the region. When
the moment came they demanded the horse, but the horse was not
there. They looked in vain at the homes of the relatives and neigh-
bors; the horse remained impossible to find. Coarse words were ex-
changed, and they came to blows. The festivity ended without any

/134 cont'd/

A. Divorce

586 Summary. -- 1. Right of divorce, theory and practice. 2. Causes of divorce. 3. Procedure.

1. Right of Divorce, Theory and Practice

Divorce among the T'ou-jen takes on a special character, that of the sale of the wife by the husband with her consent. The definition of divorce is fully realized in it: the dissolving of the marriage ties in view of the respective interests of the husband and wife.

[562] /135/ In theory the wife's right to separate from her husband and ask for divorce is not recognized; the reason for it is that the wife is considered as the pure and simple property of the husband who bought her. On the contrary, the husband's right, in theory, to send his wife away, to sell her with her consent, as well as to do it in spite of her, is recognized. Moreover, he has the right to repudiate her by sending her back to her parents.

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586 Although this theory has the force of law, I have nevertheless known the case of a rich woman bringing suit through the head of the clan, the t'ou-se, to obtain a divorce. An only daughter, when very young she had married a poor young man who had come to live at her home and serve her parents until their death. Now the husband-son-in-law in question was dissipating her fortune. The clans of the girl's mother and father as well as the elders of the village together presented a petition to the t'ou-se in which they confirmed the facts and asked the t'ou-se to grant the divorce. The divorce was granted. They based their argument on the fact that the wife had been given to the husband-son-in-law in exchange for the good services he was to render to the parents-in-law and the family; now he had not been faithful to his pledges....

586 The case of divorce occurs in practice in the following form: when the couple are no longer getting along, the wife has already found, in most cases, someone who wants to obtain her. If she has not yet found anyone, the husband will urge her to look for someone

[205 cont.]

775 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. There-
 764 fore among the people he is accordingly called tsigan yesē daxu,
 604 that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is,
 "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation,
 at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed
 except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul¹ is its
 775 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the
 614 mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative
 604 of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like
 764 the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group accord-
 ing to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to
 the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesē yan-i? Bones
 and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has
 grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life
 principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How
 is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-
 master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the
 latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting.
 But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar
 custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the
 Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S.
 M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the under-
 world: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing
 which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i. e. Mongoldai
 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case be-
 fore allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which
Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex,
 p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master
 of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the
 bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands
 an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead per-
 son's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free
 for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could
 not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bāda among
 the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this
 direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the
 underworld is lacking among them because they practice
 [769] *the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a
 human being - ANALYST*

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
 614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakcu. Unconsciously, how-
 604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
 764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
 [769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the
 case of the bāda the principal demands of the mother's brother
 are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent
 death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for
 the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of
 the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the
 clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition
 and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his
 clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a
 good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to
 interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully,
 and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the
 matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are
 allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for
 the further existence of the human being. The bones, however,
 which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied
 for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at
 the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes
 thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains,
 but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and
 grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing
 and becoming of man. According to this conception, the
 skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f.
 If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the
 moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the
 striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's
 clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological
 side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
 171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower
 forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life,
 exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life.
 These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]

775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
 776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
 589 (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
 588 widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
 171 being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
 Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
 the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
 that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
 descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
 desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
 ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
 562 decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
 783 woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
 the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
 any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
 841 connected. A very common expression runs: pudaḡ ilie, un-
 clean demon; a woman is also pudaḡ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special
 relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise
 that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being,
 which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet
 and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a
 person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among
 the Tujeh, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
 614 because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely
 to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an in-
 dividual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit
 it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal
 trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little
 concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To
 them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The
 Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not
 infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses
 itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"

171 (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
 769 soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[209 cont.]

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[351]
time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and ~~are~~ linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
 778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
 174 have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
 614 at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this
 fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sūlde of
 Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this
sūlde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be
 presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by
 W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans . . .," in Archiv
für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
 [614] it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen
 is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also
 be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are
 acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see
 W. Koppers, "Die Bhil . . .," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly
 does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection
 with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the
 Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands,
 the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distin-
 guished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan
 priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with
 the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the
 standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and
 in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and
 relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf.
 Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis,
 pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa,
 as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto
 not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their
 hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings,
 may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these
 standards are not simply representations and localizations of
 deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of
 the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the
 spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should
 think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-
 spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or ⁷⁸¹
to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one ⁷⁸⁸
understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the
Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration
to Buddha.

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. ⁷⁹⁴
The chief of the family is its religious head and its rep- ⁷⁸²
resentative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits"
on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his
duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each
family honors the image of its family protector-deity.
At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is
the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue wor-
shipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors.
The chief of the family is its representative at the per-
formance of public rites. Attended by his family, he
performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to
start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the
various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the
spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—
and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fin-
gering his prayer beads.

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of ⁷⁹⁴
the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of ⁶²²
the village and its elders administer both the official
and religious life of the people in it. Even as they appor-
tion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth ^[65]
and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum
for religious services. They impose corvées on the
villagers for municipal functions as well as for such
religious functions as protection against hailstorms or
the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner,
heads of families are summoned to participate in rites
at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain.
The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief.
He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as
the family chief does in his own circle.

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious ^[64]
life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter.
It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite.
On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image
of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village
may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry
about public worship in the village and the morality of
his subjects.

Religious activities are part of the family and social
life of the Monguor society. Their social organization
is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of
families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All
clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Mon-⁷⁷¹
guors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are ⁷⁵⁴
not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fer- ⁷⁵⁶
vent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many
rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism
or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Ow-
 ing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor
 clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests per-
 forming rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy
 Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional
 scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming
 to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them
 Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and sha-
 manist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and sha-
 manism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position,
 and has been an overwhelming influence in the country
 of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout
 the country, there is a monastery. As many as three
 hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others
 thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thou-
 sand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings
 in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders,
 owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and
 cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese
 officials because of the protection bestowed upon them
 by the Central Government of Peking. The moral in-
 fluence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its mem-
 bers, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries.
 Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious
 institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real sup-
 porters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be
 Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries
 in his territory and granted large property rights to
 them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamas-
 eries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu
 built the once outstanding lamastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the
 center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of
 each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of
 some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout
 the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan.
 The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at
 the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder
 the people follow the example set by their chief and
 adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism
 throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example
 set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as
 the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan
 Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas,
 reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to
 be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism,
 the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and
 occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anom-
 aly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[A GB]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 795

However, they had populated the world with a host of good and evil spirits on which they thought they depended. They carried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.) 776
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The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them with the protection and benefits needed during their life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed. 756
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In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists. 775
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We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.⁵⁵

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submission to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly disposed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin- 614
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⁵⁵ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, et seq. [p. 157 (A)]

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
 They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
 China. It is an enigma how they could keep their
 social organization for five-hundred years, conserve
 their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the
 Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission
 to China, were military institutions whose families were
 organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under
 a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism
 toward an agricultural economy, villages became units
 governed by a chief, two military commanders, and
 some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in
 the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes,
 and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the vil-
 lagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public
 meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher
 authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the
 Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors
 thus lived their own lives in their own organized world,
 under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready
 to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792
 radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
 celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
 the emperors and from whom they received territorial
 grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the
 T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became
 subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and
 corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan
 chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and
 in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have
 tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they
 had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
 this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
 revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
 hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects
 of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued
 to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to
 wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family cus-
 toms and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festi-
 vities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After
 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becom-
 ing Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in
 their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new
 world without cohesion or support, and burdened with
 taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese,
 adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls,
 be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the
 classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang
 Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung.
 The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was
 caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries,
 and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese offi-
 cials, where they lacked the support of their former
 chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two-hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests. 614
173
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The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, impoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese became more intensive through commercial relations. The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization. 177
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[197]

What was the reason for these facts? On the one hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu institution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were 771
614

not Chinese and which held them close together. First ⁷⁷¹ of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, ⁶¹⁴ deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan¹ and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.² Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminence.³ Chinggis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-szu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.⁴ All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors ⁷⁷¹ on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail ⁷⁶⁹ to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are descendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-szu⁵ established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

¹ Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68-69, 1940.

² A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.

³ W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.

⁴ L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.

⁵ Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

[p. 158(B)]

died during the year entered in the family register, and to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together. 771 769

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed. 614 769

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the villages in promoting the religious rites against the scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses. 614 771

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group. 593 769

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

[P19(A)]

5:Schram

AE9 Monguor AE9

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● [For additional information on t'u-ssu, see category 116,
pp. 72-114.]

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133
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792



Uigur AI4

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

[P.17(A)]

Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction.

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 8a).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the debacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 27a). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil-

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9b). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 46b), and all the officials received appointments.⁶¹ T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-szu clans⁶² in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9b). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei Chiang-chun (general) who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals of Hsining* 32: 16a.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

⁶¹ *Ming Shih* 330: 2a.

⁶² I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all ^{175*} surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered ⁶²² who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the ⁶¹⁴ clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, ^{175*} settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. ⁶¹⁴ Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."⁸³ The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. ^[622] To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans ^[613] were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

⁸³ In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175^x 614 ●

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 [701] *t'u-szu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors.

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43a). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43b). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175^x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620-905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280-1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.⁶⁴ Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175^x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175^x 648

⁶⁴ William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38a, 46b) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9a-b), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923-936) and Hu Chin (936-947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39a, 48a). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member.

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien¹⁷³ records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.¹⁷⁴

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent [324] dating from the Kuang-su period (1875-1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning,

¹⁷³ Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'u K'ao-ch'a-chi, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

¹⁷⁴ Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the sub-prefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644-1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.⁶⁷

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Sui, Ning.⁶⁸ From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

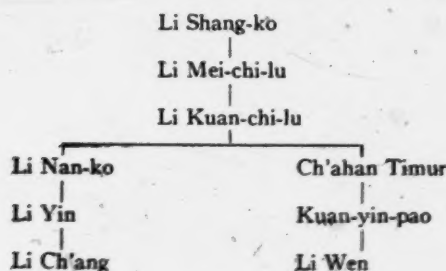
⁶⁷ The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 2b. *Annals of Kansu* 42: 47b).

⁶⁸ *Annals of Kansu* 46: 3b, happened in 982.

Ch'ang and Li Wen correspond with the names encountered in the lists of the *Annals* of Hsining and Kansu.

175^x
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HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENTS

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175^x
614

Both important documents manifest the confusion existing in the minds of the Li t'u-ssu and their subjects during and at the end of the Ming dynasty. Both Li clans claim (1) their first ancestor to have been Li K'o-yung, (2) who had received the name of Li, and (3) had been created prince of Chin by the Tang emperor. However, on the spirit way stele in the cemetery, erected in 1427, is chiseled that the original name of the Li K'o-yung clan was Topa, while the genealogical chronicle composed by Yueh Nai around 1644 records that the original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-hsieh.

The Topa tribe was the leading tribe among one of the two Tibetan Tang-hsiang groups which had fled to Kansu in 627 from Sung P'an-ting (northwest Szechwan), for fear of invading T'u-fan. This group, called P'ing-hsia-p'u, was settled by the Tang emperor in the region of the present Mi Chih Hsien (northwest of Shensi). The group, during the troubles which beset the Tang empire, had founded its own Hsi Hsia kingdom, and from 982 on waged war with the Sung empire. In 808 Shat'o, belonging to the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks, eluded the pursuit of Tibetans and fled from Kanchow through Huangchung and East Kansu to submit to China. They were settled in Ling Chou (Ninghsia), later in Yen Chou and still later eastward through Shansi. They were faithful warriors, who often saved the Tang dynasty. Later they founded their own ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923-947), whose first emperor originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe.

175^x
614

Yueh Nai, author of the chronicle, writes that the Li clan originated from the Chu-hsieh tribe of the western Turks. He should have known that Li K'o-yung was a Shat'o Turk, that the Shat'o group differed from the Tibetan Hsi Hsia group, and was settled in its own country granted by the emperor, and had its own history. Nonetheless he makes them move into Hsi Hsia, he records two Hsi Hsia leaders, Li Sse-kung and Li Chi-feng, as being ancestors of the Turk Li Nan-ko, and records the offering of four Hsi Hsia districts to the Sung (982) as being an act of his Shat'o ancestor.

Possibly the fact chiseled on the stele, stating that the Li clan had originated from the Topa Hsi Hsia tribe, induced Yueh Nai, who was not conversant with Chinese history, to find a solution combining two impossible data. However, how could the tradition of the origin of the clan have been obliterated to such an extent if stock were taken of the fact that the grandson of Li Nan-ko, Li Kung, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and later was promoted minister of the Shang-pao-ssu, certainly must have known all about the Shat'o and the Hsi Hsia history? 175^x
614

It is interesting to compare the two documents. Both stele and chronicle start with the same ancestor Li Shang-ko, his son Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Kuan-chi-lu, his great-grandson Li Nan-ko whose son was Li Yin and grandson Li Ch'ang.

However, on the stele the brother of Li Nan-ko, Ch'ahan Timur, and his son and grandson Li Wen, are not mentioned. It has to be kept in mind that the stele is erected in Hsiang T'ang, in the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so it is normal that the members of the Li Nan-ko branch only should be recorded on the stele in this cemetery. The Li Wen branch has its own cemetery situated ten li north of Hsining, with its own steles, etc. But it is normal that in the genealogical chronicle of the entire Li clan, composed by Yueh Nai in 1644, the Li Wen branch should be recorded next to that of Li Nan-ko.

Who was Li Shang-ko? On the stele he is noted as having been an official of the Prince of Ch'i, during the Yuan dynasty (1280-1367). His son Li Mei-chi-lu and his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu are recorded as having held the same office.

The Ch'i princes had been appanaged by the emperor in East Kansu in Feng-hsiang-fu. Among them was the Prince T'o-t'o-nu-erh Fu-ma⁶⁹ who was the younger brother of Chang Chi to whom, at the beginning of the Yuan dynasty, Huangchung had been assigned as appanage, and who in 1287 had been ordered by the emperor to reside in Huangchung. Chang Chi must have known the Li clan pretty well.

In the biography of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, in the *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11b, it is noted that in the Hsuan Te period (1426-1436), Li Wen held the office of Tu chih-huei chien-shih (secretary High Commandant) at the Hsin-tu-ssu in Shensi province. Does this not seem to point to an incumbency near the same Princes of Ch'i? However this seems impossible, because, in 1429 according to the same *Annals* (27: 11), Li Wen and all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung participated in the expedition in Nan Ting and Ch'u Hsien, conducted by Li Yin, and according to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38a) this expedition started in 1425.

However, according to the genealogical register of Yueh Nai, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu hu-chih (vice-chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining

⁶⁹ Hambis, *op. cit.*, 108, 49.

under the Yuan; he therefore lived in Huangchung and not in East Kansu in Feng-Hsiang Fu in the appanage of the Ch'i prince. It was also at that time that the Li clan parted in six branches. But the Li clan never parted in six branches because only two Li clans have existed in Huangchung and not six. 175*
614

The *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38), according to "original" documents, record that Li Wen was the son of the first wife of Li Shang-ko and that the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2b, 10a), which printed that Li Yin was the uncle of Li Wen are to be amended. Li Wen and Li Yin were first cousins, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko were brothers. However, the *Annals* do not tell who was the father of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko.

Li Shang-ko

Li Nan-ko

Li Wen (first cousins)

Li Yin

During the Yuan dynasty, Li Wen discharged the office of Tu chih-huei t'ung-chih (Vice-chairman High Commandant) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38a) and then submitted to the Ming with the officials of Huangchung in a group in 1371. The *Annals* do not note at what time Li Shang-ko died. However the fact, that Li Wen went to submit as chief of the clan means that his father had died before 1371. Because he submitted to the Ming, he and not Li Shang-ko had been granted the office of t'u-ssu. He is considered the founding ancestor of the clan and with him starts the clan cemetery. In this clan cemetery his mound is the principal and highest one. When all the subjects of the clan come yearly to honor him and the later clan ancestors, offerings and libations are first made before his mound and then before the graves of the later ancestors. Li Shang-ko, his father, is not buried in the clan cemetery.

At what time did the Li clan part into two clans? It is certain that before the submission of Li Wen before 1371, the division of the paternal inheritance had long since been accomplished between the two brothers, Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko (or between former clan chiefs), because both clans, in the Yuan dynasty, controlled definite territories, were ordered to guard definite passes and keep always ready a definite number of foot and horse (for all the t'u-ssu were in the Yuan times groups of Mongol soldiers or groups of surrendered tribes enrolled as defenders of the country). Because it is said that during the Ming and Ch'ing times they continued to occupy and defend the same territories and passes, it would seem that before the Li Nan-ko and Li Shang-ko time the division of the clan must have been achieved.

Anyway the problem of the exact time at which the partition of the clans had been achieved is not an easy one to solve, and also the problem concerning Li Wen

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years! 175^x
614

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. According to the *Annals of Kansu* (42: 46b), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Hwei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 10a. *Annals of Kansu* 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself. 175^x
764
324

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 46; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 10). Emperor Hsien Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 2b) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son. [6+8]

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals of Hsining* (27: 2a) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals of Hsining* 7: 8a). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but 175^x
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764

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan. 175x 614 764

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals of Hsining* 7: 17a; 27: 10-11; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 46b, 47a). B4E

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times. [622]

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368-1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the struggle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history. 175x 648

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty.

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the officials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel. 175x 648 622

Historical Mongolia AH2

discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

M
175^x
648

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING
THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG
TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403-1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.⁷⁴ He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

M
175^x
[578]
643

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380-1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liaotung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun (*Annals of Hsining* 28: 13a; *Annals of Kansu* 42: 44b).

M
175^x
648
614
553

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 36b). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liangchow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

M
175^x
648

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 12b). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

M
175^x
648
HM
175
648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368-1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

⁷⁴ In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

Historical Mongolia AH2

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 47a; *Annals of Hsining* 27: 11a).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every day offered incense in the temple and also in the ancestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family. 175^x 114

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is its founding ancestor. He was a member of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih*, Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, 27a-b). 175^x 614

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pâ (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

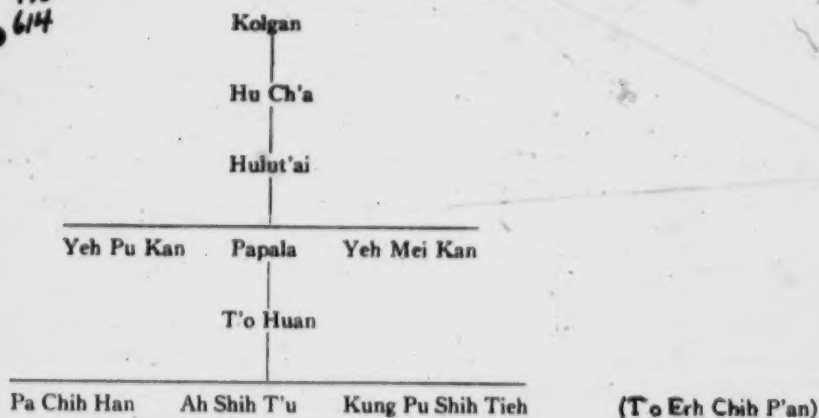
The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the territory he occupied during the Yuan time. [48] 624

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his *Chronicles* between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung- [114]

ANCESTORS OF T'O HUAN

*175
614



pu-shih-tieh, his younger brother, as the ancestor of the second generation without noting that he had died in 1410 on the field of battle, accompanying the emperor on an expedition in Mongolia. The *Annals* note Shih Chia as the ancestor of the third generation without recording his name Hsien, and without noting that he was given the name of Lu on account of the death of his father on the field of battle, but seem to suggest that he had been granted the name of Lu on account of his own merits. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh is the ancestor of the second generation and T'o Huan is the founding ancestor of the clan. 175X 614

The *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, start with Kung-pu-shih-tieh, a member of the imperial family who led his sons and tribes to submit in 1371, and received the title of Pei fu-chang from the emperor and was ordered to settle in Lien Ch'eng. He received the title of centurion and died in 1410 on the battlefield. However, the *Annals* record that his father was T'o Huan bearing the titles of P'ing-chang Cheng-shih and the dignity of Prince of Wu Ting. In the official *Annals* of the Yuan, Pen chi 24, 27, T'o Huan is not noted on the list of princes of Wu Ting but on those of the princes of An Ting. Not Kung-pu-shih-tieh but T'o Huan according to the *Chronicles* of the Lu clan, submitted with his sons and tribes, at the end of 1369 or beginning of 1370. T'o Huan fought with the Ming armies in 1370 and 1375 and died in 1376. He acted as chief of the submitted clan. Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded only in 1378 and could not have led the tribes to submit in 1371. In the *Annals* it is not noted either that Kung-pu-shih-tieh was the ancestor of the second generation nor the founding ancestor of the clan. In the *Kansu Annals* in the articles concerning the Monguor clan is never noted the number of the ancestors who succeeded each other. Anyway Kung-pu-shih-tieh was

a member of the imperial family of the Yuan and the son of T'o Huan.

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KOLGAN

T'o Huan, Prince of An Ting, is a descendant of Chingis Khan (who died in 1227), by his sixth son Kolgan, according to the Chinese sources.¹

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Kolgan was the sixth son of Chingis, by his fourth wife Kulan, a Merkit beauty offered by the Merkit chief after Chingis had attacked and crushed the tribe.² She bore a son Kolgan. He participated in the conquest of Kipchack (Central Russia) with the Mongol princes of all the branches, under the command of Batu, and besieged the city of Ban (Riazan?) in the autumn of 1237. They stormed the city of Iga (?) where Kolgan was mortally wounded.³

K'o Chao-Ming in *Hsin Yuan Shih* 110, 8a, writes: Kulan was the favorite of Chingis, who loved her son Kolgan as much as those of the Empress Borte. Kolgan is recorded as the sixth among the sons of Chingis immediately after the five sons of Empress Borte (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6a). Chingis, in fixing the maintenance of his sons, fixed Kolgan's share nearly equal to those of the five sons of Borte (*Yuan Shih* 95, 5). However,

¹For the study of the study of the descendants of Kolgan, we follow the Magisterial Study of Louis Hambis, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yuan che* (64-70) avec notes supplementaires par Paul Pelliot. Supplement au Volume 38 du *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Brill, 1945. And also *Chapitre CVII du Yuan che* par L. Hambis. Monographies du *T'oung Pao*, 3, Tome I, Leiden, Brill, 1954. There the texts recorded in the official history of the Yuan (1369) concerning the ancestors are discussed relating to Meng wu erh shih chi by Tu Chi (1911), the Cho Keng Lu (1366), the two recent sources composed during the Republic, and the Mohammedan histories by Rashid-ed-Din and Khondemir.

²George Vernadski, *The Mongols and Russia*, 26, 1953.

³E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Recherches* 1: 315. London, 1910.

[P.72(c)]

nothing is recorded in the *Yuan Shih* relating to the appanage of Kolgan. Kolgan accompanied Chingis on the expedition in Central Asia and probably died in 1237.

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HU CH'A

The son of Kolgan was Hu Ch'a, according to the unanimous testimony of all Chinese and Mohammedan sources.

On the panel recording the princes of Ho Chien, the name of Hu Ch'a is encountered (*Yuan Shih* 107, 6a). However, his name is not written on the list of the appanaged princes, but there the name of his son Hulut'ai is written. The date of his promotion as Prince of Ho Chien is not given either, but it is noted on the list of the sustentances and subjects allotted to the Prince of Ho Chien.

Hu Ch'a probably died in 1264.

HULUT'AI

All the Chinese sources unanimously call Hulut'ai the son of Hu Ch'a. Hulut'ai was Prince of Ho Chien, but the Mohammedan sources do not mention it. The history of the Yuan calls him "great prince" (107, 6b), and also Prince of Ho Chien and notes the date of his promotion (108, 4). Consequently, he was really Prince of Ho Chien, as his father Hu Ch'a had been. The name of Hulut'ai is written in Chinese in different ways and the same name is encountered among many offspring of the second son of Chingis, Chagatai (Ham-bis, note 60, 3).

When Kubilai was proclaimed emperor in 1260, his brother Arikhoga opposed him, was proclaimed emperor also, and was followed by nearly all the princes of the East and the West. The revolt lasted for more than fifty years.

Hulut'ai received from Emperor Kubilai in 1265 the seal of Prince of Ho Chien and a gift of a thousand *tan* of grain for his destitute subjects, probably to keep him from mixing in the revolt. However, in 1277, at the time Haitu fought Kubilai, Hulut'ai, living among rebel princes, followed Haitu, but in the eighth month he left the rebels and clung again to the faction of Kubilai (*Yuan Shih* 9, 20b).

In the history of the Yuan neither the death nor the date of the death of Hulut'ai is noted, but he died before 1287.

THE SONS OF HULUT'AI

All the sources concerning the three first generations of the ancestors of T'o Huan, agree that Kolgan was the primordial ancestor, succeeded by his son Hu Ch'a, and grandson Hulut'ai, who was the son of Hu Ch'a. The confusion in the list of succession starts with the sons of Hulut'ai.

The oldest lists, corroborated by the Mohammedan lists and that of 1911, mention three sons: Yeh Pu Kan,

Papala, and Yeh Mei Kan. The lists in both recent histories mention four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Pei Ta Han, and Yeh Mei Kan. The old lists note Papa to be the son of Yeh Pu Kan. The recent lists note Papa as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan and Papala the son of Yeh Mei Kan and not his brother.

T'o Huan in the three old lists belongs to the fifth generation, in the recent lists to the sixth generation, but in all these lists T'o Huan is recorded as the son of Papala. Anyway T'o Huan is noted as a descendant of Kolgan, whether his father was the son of the grandson of Hulut'ai.

YEH PU KAN

Yeh Pu Kan succeeded to his father Hulut'ai. On all lists he is noted as the son of Hulut'ai.

To Yeh Pu Kan seems to have been granted the dignity of Prince of Ho Chien which had been bestowed upon his grandfather Hu Ch'a and his father Hulut'ai and the reason is that in the history of the Yuan (14, 17b) is recorded that his appanage of Ho Chien and his title of Ta lu hua ch'ih had been removed from him in 1287. It thus seems that he had inherited the title from his father and that his father had died before 1287. However, his name is not recorded in the lists of the princes with title (108, 4a) but only in those called "great princes" (107, 6b).

Also, his grandfather Hu Ch'a (107, 5a) is recorded Prince of Ho Chien in the official history and also in the list of the sustenance given to the princes (95, 5a). However, his name is not mentioned in the list of Princes of Ho Chien (108, 4a). Also, his father Hulut'ai is noted only as "great prince" in 107, 6b, but in the principal *Annals* he is recorded as Prince of Ho Chien (6, 2), with the date of the granting of the title and the seal, and also in 108, 4a, he is noted as Prince of Ho Chien. Does this fact suggest that only the grandfather and the father had enjoyed the title of Prince of Ho Chien and that after the death of Hulut'ai, the title had no longer been granted to Yeh Pu Kan and later successors? Or is it possible that it had already been removed from Hulut'ai after his revolt in 1277?

Anyway, Yeh Pu Kan's appanage and title were removed from him in 1287 after he had participated in the revolt against Kubilai, in which Hai Tu had lured Na Yen, descendant of Hasar, the fourth brother of Chingis, appanaged in Manchuria.

Marco Polo, at that time at the court of Kubilai, tells that Na Yen was a baptized Nestorian Christian, who in the battle against Kubilai bore a cross, but that this did not avail, because he had revolted against his lord.*

Before his revolt Yeh Pu Kan in 1284 had accompanied the imperial Prince Namuhan in the region of Kobdo, to inquire about the line of action of the rebellious and turbulent Mongol princes.

Many hypotheses have been suggested related to the

* de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine* 9: 432.

place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, 7a) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another recorded the granting of the title of "great prince" in 1314 (108, 6b). On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut'ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yuan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut'ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-sse Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T'o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T'O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T'o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth

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of the seal, controlling the Monguor officials and troops of Chuang Lang. 175^x
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114

Families have genealogical registers as kingdoms have histories. In olden times during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, the one hundred-twenty kingdoms each had precious books. When Ssu-Ma Ch'ien composed the Shih-chi (history) he took these books as models. The coordination of the work seemed to be so clear that future genealogical registers were built according to that model.

Ssu Ma-ch'ien composed the genealogical registers of the San Tai period (Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, 2205-250 B.C.). However, from Huang Ti on, the number of generations is hard to determine, and because of this and of the length of time elapsed the registers are contradictory and not entirely reliable. The same problem exists with the genealogical list of Ou-Yang Hsiu and of Su Shih, which were highly esteemed at that time. From Hsun on, Ou-Yang records only five generations for a period of 300 years, and from Tsung on, he records eighteen generations for a period of only 140 years. Checking the list of Su, one notes the omission of Chang Shih from Chou, but we see him go as far upward as Lu-Chung and Kun-wu, and we feel once more its vagueness. It is difficult to rely entirely upon them. 175^x
114

The Lu family originates from the imperial family of the Yuan. However, their genealogical register does not go back that far. It reads: "(Reverentially) we dare not to look at the emperor as our ancestor. Our family name Lu started with Lu Hsien, the ancestor of the third generation. However, our first ancestor was Prince of An Ting during the Yuan. This is recorded in the genealogical lists of the Yuan dynasty, and so there is no need to investigate it again. Those who recorded the original name would not have noted it without having proof."

We start with the first section of the genealogical register.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

Primordial Ancestor	T'o Huan
Second generation	Kung-pu-shih-tieh
Two sons: Ah-shih-tu succeeded, died soon, Kung-pu-shih-tieh succeeded	
Third generation	Hsien
Fourth generation	Chien
Fifth generation	Lin
Sixth generation	Chin
Seventh generation	Tung
Two sons: Tan succeeded, died soon, Tung succeeded	
Eighth generation	Kuang-tsu
Cheng-wu son of Tan succeeded, died soon. Tung three more sons: Kuang-tsu, Kuang-hsien, Kuang-kuo; Kuang-tsu succeeded	

175^x
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614

* Yuan Shih, 107, 3b, 6a-b, 24, 27b, 113.

Ninth generation	Yung Ch'ang 175*
Tenth generation	Hung 601
Eleventh generation	Ti Hsin 614
Two sons: Ti Ch'eng succeeded, died soon, Ti Hsin succeeded	
Twelfth generation	Hua Lin
Thirteenth generation	Feng Chu
Fourteenth generation	Fan
Fifteenth generation	Chi Hsun
Sixteenth generation	Cho
Seventeenth generation	Ju Kao

CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHIES

PREFACE

In former times Huang Li-chou (Huang Tsung-hsi) 175* always said that the science of the composition of chronological biographies is a distinctive branch (of history).

Li Wen-chien composed the chronological biographies of Sires Fan, Han, Fu, Wu Yang, Ssu Ma, and the three Su's. The later generations admired their completeness and correctness. These men had been renowned ministers and eminent scholars.

Kingdoms have official histories. Families have chronological biographies in which men are the warp and years the woof. If the biographies cover only a few years, the collection of the material is easy. In 1643 our family met with the insurrection of Huo Chin during which (our) archives, books, law registers, and official deeds, were consumed by fires set by the brigands. A dynasty is only a fraction of the history, a single man a fraction of a generation, and an event only a fraction of the life of a single man. Weaving with the warp of men and the woof of years, collected over periods of hundreds of years, and then trying to put the events of several hundred years in a one-foot roll is difficult.

Now I summarily coordinate all the events, I record our submission (to the empire) in order to conform with the will of Heaven, I record our military successes, in order to recall the glorious achievements of the ancestors, I note the dates of the birth and the death of the ancestors, the place of their interment, in order that the ulterior generations will remember to make sacrifices to them. I eliminate all doubtful events and avoid writing unchecked facts, in order not to mislead posterity. Facts which have to be believed and are important have to be recorded and insignificant ones omitted. This is the rule of the Ch'un-ch'iu. The dates of the period of the reigns of the emperors are noted with the first day of the moon.

Now we proceed to the second section, the chronological biographies.

Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor. 175x

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent. [35]

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.¹⁰

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan. 175x 614 ●

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized

¹⁰ According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

proprietor of the country and the chief of his subjects, 175x
 who were not allowed to abandon him. The same principle prevailed among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung, and 614
 the first appointed t'u-ssu was considered the founding ancestor of the clan, proprietor of the territory, and chief of the subjects. Regularly he was succeeded by his oldest son. Among the Monguors the founding ancestor distributed among his sons a part of the territory with some villages, to provide their sustenance, but he remained the supreme chief of the territory and the subjects. He was always free to dispense some territories to meritorious members of the clan. The sons of the founding ancestor and their descendants constitute the group of the nobles of the clan, forming as many branches as there were sons. Each branch was free to divide among its members the villages, and the land taxes, furnished by the commoners who tilled the soil of their properties and villages. In Huangchung, in time of war, each branch of the nobles was ordered to send a fixed number of soldiers to the t'u-ssu chief of the clan (Monguors I: 41, 42).

In the Genealogical Register and the Biographies of the Lu clan are noted only two sons of T'o Huan: Ah-shih-tu, the oldest, who succeeded and died after a year, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh, the second son, who succeeded from 1378 until 1410, and is recorded as the chief of the clan of the second generation.

In the genealogical records are noted only the t'u-ssu who succeeded to each other, and nothing is recorded about their brothers and sons who were not affiliated with the government of the clan.

Incidentally, there are encountered in the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 55, and in the *Annals* of Chuang Lang 36, some more interesting details related to the Lu clan and its history.

In both *Annals* it is recorded that the oldest son of T'o Huan was not Ah-shih-t'u, but Pa-chih-han. The text reads:

Pa-chih-han, the oldest son of the Prince of Wu Ting, member of the imperial family of the Yuan, fulfilling the duty of P'ing-chang-cheng-shih, submitted with his father to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was promoted secretary commandant. Later the name of Lu was granted to the clan by the emperor. The successive chiefs of the branch of Pa-chih-han fulfilled the hereditary duty of t'u-ssu.

What could have been the reason for the creation of a second t'u-ssu clan at the very beginning, when the Lu clan submitted to the Ming dynasty? By analogy with what happened in the Li clan in 1655, as described in Monguors I: 42, we may suppose that it was due to a quarrel within the ruling family of the clan and that similar troubles between Pa-chih-han and his father T'o Huan or his brothers caused the establishment of a second clan in the Lu clan from the very beginning.

No hints are encountered of troubles in the Lu family

at that time, either in the Lu chronicles or in the *Annals* 175^x of Kansu 42: 56, and Chuang Lang 36, but both *Annals* 614 record that, at the time Pa-chih-han was appointed t'u-ssu by the emperor with the title of "secretary commandant with seal," T'o Huan offered him some territories and fourteen villages. Nothing is noted about the number of families they contained. T'o Huan at that time controlled ten tribes of Monguors, numbering 3,245 families with 21,686 persons, and the most extensive territories allotted by the emperor to any t'u-ssu in Huangchung.

T'u-ssu T'o Huan was entitled "Commandant with Seal" and controlled 300 regular Monguor soldiers, 500 irregular soldiers, and 200 regular Tibetan soldiers. He obeyed the orders of the Chinese General of Haining in time of war but had himself to provide the equipment (horses, weapons) and sustenance to his soldiers, who were not paid for their military services. He did not pay taxes to the Chinese officials. He received a salary of 76.6 taels.

As "secretary commandant with seal," Pa-chih-han also controlled territories offered "by the clan" but only fifty regular Monguor soldiers. He also obeyed the order of the Chinese general of Haining in time of war, provided the equipment and sustenance to his soldiers, and paid no taxes to the Chinese officials, but he received an annual salary of only 48.96 taels.¹¹

The enormous difference between the poor territories and fourteen villages offered to Pa-chih-han by his father and the extensive territories and cities and villages his father controlled must have opened his eyes to the fact that his right of succession as an eldest son had been by-passed by his father, and he must have felt this as an open insult which could never be forgotten and which sooner or later must be revenged.

Even though we encounter no hints in the family chronicles and in the *Annals* concerning troubles in the Lu family, these circumstances lead us to surmise that something must have been wrong between Pa-chih-han and his father, which might well have caused the formation of a second clan within the Lu clan.

THE PA-CHIH-HAN CLAN

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the successors of T'u-ssu Pa-chih-han, endowed with the office of "T'u-ssu secretary commandant with seal," defended the country against the recurrent forays and invasions of Mongols and Tibetans, according to the orders of the general of Haining. In 1644, at the end of the dynasty, the incumbent T'u-ssu of the Pa-chih-han clan was the secretary commandant Lu Tien, who fought the brigand Li Tze-ch'eng in Huangchung and Kansu. He fought the brigands with his Monguor troops in the same way T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang, "commandant with seal" of the T'o Huan clan, fought them with

¹¹ *Annals of Chuang Lang* 36a-b.

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma. 175x 622

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority. 175x 614 622 701

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.¹⁴

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645 175x

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped."¹⁵

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

¹⁴ See pp. 89, 101.

¹⁵ See p. 89.

In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people. 175^x 648

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive. [703]

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties. 175^x 614 ●

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

- T'u-ssu Yeh Wei-chien
T'u-ssu Wang Chao
In 1643 T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang
In 1644 T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan, his wife and 120 members of his family.
Wife of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, his concubine, two brothers, three hundred members of the family.
T'u-ssu Yeh Kuo-chi
In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng Kuang-hsien's son
In 1798 T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu
In 1864 T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi
No record existed relating to the number of all the Monguor soldiers who died on the fields of battle during these five centuries.

HONORIFIC ARCHES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Honorific Arch was built and inscription sent by the emperor:

- In 1475 for T'u-ssu Lu Chien "During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly exercised fidelity and zeal."
In 1546 for T'u-ssu Lu Chin "Incessantly practiced faithfulness and justice and was illustrious for his dignity and fame."
In 1568 for T'u-ssu Li Kung "Ch'ing Yun, 'Blue Clouds,' means Bright Intelligence. He was an eminent scholar."
In 1612 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Teh "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace."
In 1616 for T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chung "Served the country, manifested loyalty."
In 1644 for T'u-ssu Li Hung-yuan "Loyal servant and faithful wife, glory of the noble clan."

In 1534 in the city of Hsining was built the HALL OF THE FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS OFFICIALS OF HUANGCHUNG.

Four names of t'u-ssu are recorded in the list of these glorious officials. They are:

Li Nan-ko
Li Yin
Ch'eng Chih
Li Ch'ang

IMPERIAL DISTINCTION

After the Hsining troops, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands of Kokonor, and the son, nephew, and relatives of Altan, had brilliantly demolished the temple in Kokonor, where Altan had met the Dalai Lama, and after two resounding victories had been obtained against these brigands in 1594, reports were sent to the emperor with the names of the meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to these successful achievements. A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward these

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

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The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Baks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

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While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bak), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: "... the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

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[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes."

b. language

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[197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Olots, etc.

c. clan divisions

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• 614 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uiro. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

2. Physical characteristics

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[144] Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

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fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

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C. The Mongours

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At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Mongour social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

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Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Mongour social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Mongour commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Mongour clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

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Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Mongour social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

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/The Monguors/

leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinal noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

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[428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

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*563 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

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/The Monguors/

*563 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

The T'u-ssu received the "ownship" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Monguors/

*563 N into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

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[466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

*563 N The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

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*563 When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

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*563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

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*563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generations. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens."

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/The Monguors/

000 kitchens."

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*563 For all members of the same generation, the Monguors use the
M same term differentiating according to sex. The extended family
601 provides a framework of social support for the nuclear family, the
59 latter consisting of a father, mother and their children. Adoption
of sons by childless couples is practiced.

N
*563 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed
M among the nobles. There are no marriages between nobles and
565 commoners in the clan, since all individuals bear the same clan
582 name. However, there are exceptions to this rule, especially when
614 the clan structure breaks down. The status of the wife is inferior
to that of the husband. Relationship between two families connected
by marriage is clearly seen in the special role of the maternal
uncle, who has a powerful influence over his sister's child and over
the family into which his sister's child is born.

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*563 The basis on which Monguor property is divided is that fact that,
M under the patrilineal system, the entire extended family is the owner
421 of fields, cattle, houses, agricultural implements and money. Individual
property is restricted to a few personal possession. The sons
of a man who has died, are entitled to receive and divide their father's
share.

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*563 III. Relationships between the Chinese, the Chinese-speaking
361 Moslems, and the Sedentary Tibetans

Agricultural Chinese, Chinese Moslems and sedentary Tibetans
all live in villages for the sake of protection and in accordance with
a tradition of settlement that is continent-wide and probably older
than history. The area is typical of the farming economy that is
found all the way across the northern half of China. The crops are
the same and the manner of life is similar. The villages, whether
Chinese, Moslem or Tibetan, are alike not only as to spatial characteristics
but as to their function in the social organization. The
counties may be administratively divided into districts, "roads", or
"directions", but the basic unit of control is the village, with a
village head-man who is largely responsible for the maintenance
of law and order and for the observance of government regulations.
The larger villages have their own "family protective associations"
and organized units of the militia. The smaller ones have no such
organization, but are recognized by the county administration as
self-administering units.

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*563 It is not clear whether there are such intermediate divisions
621 as hsiang, chen and chu between the villages and the county organizations.
631 It seems probable, however, since the National Government has put the Northwest provinces under an administration system
similar to that of other provinces. In practice, such divisions

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* 563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren.
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592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually
554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

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* 563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional
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581 part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the
562 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon-
[769] gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an-
[771] cestral cult. Unmarried sons, or childless sons are considered
a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live-
stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

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* 563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently
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584 the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con-
583 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen
582 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage
age for boys is between 14-16.

N
* 563 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab-
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584 solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is
582 sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob-
565 served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage
with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the
weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re-
garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it
has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy
rules need not be observed as strictly.

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* 563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but
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582 does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a
sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different
clan.

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[587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family,
usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband.
However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance
and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she
wants.

N
* 563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from
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588 the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage
to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan,
but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri-
lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as
members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the
belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has
relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be
"married" if she becomes pregnant.

N
* 563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage
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604 is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being
part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

/The Kazaks/

4: Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a melancholy quality, and their dance is simple.

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

F. The Mongours

1. The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

/The Monguors/

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*563 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three
M sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in
292 contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving
the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a
red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embro-
idered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are
tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions
she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a
hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroi-
dered legs which she wears outside the boots.

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*563 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour
M bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau.
294 She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her
292 lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the
age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

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*563 Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour
M woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a
302 small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the
301 top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound
(291) together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells.
She never wears a hat.

N
*563 There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to
M one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her
302 husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the
291 Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of
(711) China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mon-
gours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple
felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat
of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches
the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra
sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still
M living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years
(888) so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old
age.

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*563 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four
M bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married
301 women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

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*563 There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of
M a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have
177 lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and
D28 become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following
(614) discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called
T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs
were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

/The Monguors/

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ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

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This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Monguor clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

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The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

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Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

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Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

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Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

/The Monguors/

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of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank.

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

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It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

1. Celebrations and festivals

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Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in their ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

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Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

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